

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NEA-07

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NEAE-00 NSCE-00 EA-06 EUR-08
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P R 281317Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 54
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
USLO PEKING

S E C R E T TEHRAN 8203

LIMDIS

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, PINR, AF, UR, IR
SUBJ: AUDIENCE WITH SHAH-AFGHANISTAN

1. DURING AUGUST 28 AUDIENCE WITH SHAH, I ASKED FOR HIS ASSESSMENT OF RECENT EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN. HE SAID THAT I WAS ALREADY AWARE OF HIS GENERAL VIEWS ON THAT COUNTRY. RECENT EVENTS HAD MERELY REINFORCED HIS FEELING WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD TAKEN OVER COMPLETE CONTROL AND WERE IN EFFECT TREATING AFGHANISTAN AS ONE OF THEIR "SOCIALIST REPUBLICS."

2. I SAID OUR EMBASSY IN KABUL FELT THE REGIME HAD NARROWED ITS BASE OF SUPPORT TO A RATHER SURPRISING DEGREE, PARTICULARLY BT THE ELIMINATION OF THE MILITARY FROM THE CABINET. HE SAID THAT DIDN'T MATTER TO THE SOVIETS BECUSE THEY HAD PUT THEIR OWN OFFICERS IN CHARGE OF THE MILITARY. MOREOVER, THE SOVIETS COULD
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ALWAYS BRING BACK THE PARCHANI "EXILES" IN THE EVENT TARAHI, AMIN, AND THE KHALQ FAILED.

3. WHEN ASKED HIS ESTIMATE OF POTENTIALS FOR RESISTANCE AND REVOLT, HE SAID HE THOUGHT THEY WERE VERY LIMITED. THERE MIGHT BE A FEW ASSASSINATIONS AND PERHAPS SOME SOVIETS WOULD BE KILLED IN PATHAN AMBUSHES. BUT ORGANIZED

REVOLT WAS UNLIKELY.

4. AS FAR AS PUSHTOONSTAN AND BELUCHISTAN WERE CONCERNED, HE HAD NO RPT NO EVIDENCE THAT A SUBVERSIVE CAMPAIGN HAD YET BEGUN IN THOSE AREAS. HE FELT THE SOVIETS WOULD CONCENTRATE ON CONSOLIDATING THEIR POSITION IN AFGHANISTAN BEFORE MOVING INTO THE REGION TO THE SOUTH. BUT HE CONSIDERED THEIR MOVE INEVITABLE.

5. DESPITE THESE VIEWS, HE SAID HE WOULD CONTINUE TO ABIDE BY THE "U.S. AND INDIAN" FORMULA FOR TREATING AFGHANISTAN OSTENSIBLY AS IF IT WERE NON-ALIGNED. HE SAID HE WOULD DO THIS WITH NO ILLUSIONS THAT SUCH A POLICY COULD PRODUCE GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT, BUT ONLY BECAUSE HE DID NOT WISH TO PROVIDE THE SOVIETS OR THE AFGHANS ANY PREMISE OF PROVOCATION FOR SHARPENED ACTION AGAINST PAKISTAN OR IRAN.
SULLIVAN

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NNN

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